NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 5, No. 36 NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 29, 1953

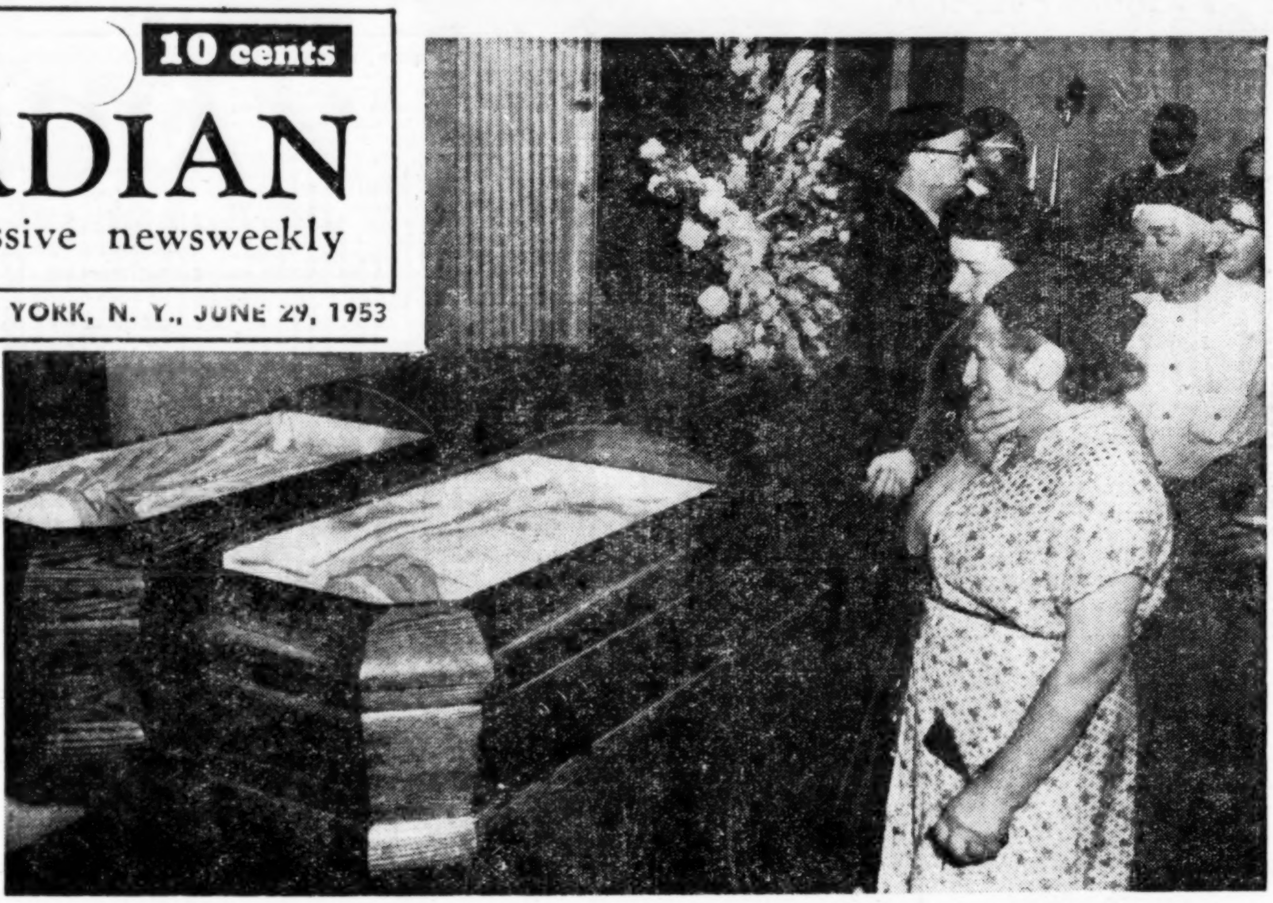
NEW YORK EDITION

THIS ISSUE

In the knowledge that GUARDIAN readers would want the full story and the full significance of the Rosenberg execution for themselves and for their friends, we are sending the New York Edition this week to the entire readership. Much of the New York news has given way to coverage of the Rosenberg Case; it will be back next week.

We asked correspondents in London and Paris to send us first-hand reports; had reporters in Washington, Union Square and at the funeral. We have analyzed the case, tried to place it in its historical setting and given the background as best we can at this time.

We will have more to say. The direction of our comments will follow the interpretive editorial article below in this page.



OUT OF THE GRIEF AND HORROR AND ANGER THERE WILL COME NEW STRENGTH
All night and all day they filed past the Rosenberg bier in Brooklyn

The meaning of the death of the Rosenbergs

AS THE BODIES of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were lowered into their graves last week, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made the briefest, but possibly the profoundest, declaration. He said simply:

> **"These people were killed because they would not lie."**

Present-day Washington subsists on the lie; death is decreed for those who adhere to the honor and dignity of the truth. The lie is the technique of fascism: Hitler burned the Reichstag—and blamed the deed on others—to consolidate his bid for absolute power.

The government of President Eisenhower and Sen. Joe McCarthy has burned the bodies of two innocent human beings. To Emanuel H. Bloch, who for 36 grueling months worked ceaselessly to avert this tragedy, the execution of the Rosenbergs portends "an era where military dictatorship rules in the garb of civilian attire."

WITHOUT PRECEDENT: The lie is being continued to justify the deed that has now been done. Through its official channels the Washington government is assuring the world that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg enjoyed the full benefit of democratic U.S. legal procedure. But the last grisly hours in this nation's capital spell a different record.

The Supreme Court itself, rent and torn as it is by internal dissensions, revealed some of the truth as it sat in almost frantically-convened special session to overrule a stay of execution granted by one of its own Justices—an occurrence the like of which cannot be found in the recorded history of the country.

Even as it vacated the stay of execution it placed on the record for the world to know that, as a court,

- **It has never reviewed the trial itself.**
- **It has never examined the evidence.**
- **It has never considered the propriety of the death sentence.**

UNREAD RECORD: Justice Black stated in open court that none of the Justices had read the record. Even the government's acting Solicitor General who was there to demand that death be done confessed that he himself had not read the record.

But at another point Justice Douglas revealed that he **had** read the record, adding wryly: "Perhaps unfortunately." The implication seemed clear that the record itself had compelled him to grant his stay.

But the court as a whole made another and deeper point which few commentators have noted: it unanimously indicated that it was not in favor of the death penalty. Bound and almost gagged by high decorum, the court's meaning was nevertheless clear to those who would read or listen. Justice Jackson, in a separate opinion concurred in by the majority, wrote:

> "Vacating this stay is not to be construed as indorsing the wisdom or appropriateness to this case of a death sentence. That death sentence, however, is permitted by law and, as was previously pointed out, is therefore not within this court's power of revision. . . ."

HE WOULDN'T SEE BLOCH
But he had time the morning after for a ceremonial fishing-rod presentation

CLEMENCY'S DOMAIN: Justice Frankfurter went even further:

> "It is not for this court even remotely to enter into the domain of clemency reserved by the Constitution exclusively to the President.... Of course, I respectfully assume that appropriate consideration will be given to a clemency application by the authority constitutionally charged with the clemency function."

In effect the Court, majority and dissenters alike, was pleading with the President for an act of clemency; but the President did not hear or, if he heard, he did not heed. (For a portrait of the military mind at work in the Whitte House, see p. 11).

THE MILITARY WAY: A week earlier the President had indicated definitely that he was not favorably disposed to clemency. Dr. Bernard M. Loomer, Dean of Chicago University's School of Divinity, reported on an audience he and two other clergymen had with Mr. Eisenhower:

> "The President referred to his military experience during which he felt compelled to order an execution as a disciplinary measure and deterrent for violation of the military code. This prompted me to ask whether the President felt that Communists could be restrained by the same methods as soldiers."

The President's mind was closed to all pleas; there is strong doubt that he either was shown by the Justice Dept. or took the trouble to note the comments of the Supreme Court Justices. He totally ignored an eleventh-hour appeal from defense counsel for permission to make an oral presentation to him; their telegram in which they declared that the "case against them [the Rosenbergs] reeks with perjury and fraud" was not even acknowledged.

"NO ISSUE": The President was less than accurate when he declared that "the legal processes of democracy have been marshalled to their maximum strength to protect the lives of convicted spies" and that "in their most solemn judgment the tribunals of the United States have adjudged them guilty and the sentence just. . . ."

Even the Washington **Post**, which applauded the final Supreme Court action, observed:

> The Court simply saw in the case no issue requiring its adjudication. So it declined to intervene. . . . It is important to remember that even now the Supreme Court did not pass judgment on the Rosenbergs.

To Attorney Bloch, who lived through every legal action in the case, there was observance only of "the barest forms of justice, but no justice."

For pell-mell haste in perpetrating the final deed of murder, there is no rival in history to the Rosenberg Case—in the last ten days before the switch was pulled, four separate appeals were summarily disposed of with no consideration, no study, no deliberative process.

THIRD DEGREE: The haste was crucial to the government's case, for the government was playing a gruesome game, and it played it out to the grim end. Its ultimatum had long been clear: confess or die. On the last Tuesday before their deaths Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were told again by their counsel that the government was intent on forcing a confession. It was third degree by electrocution. And as they had answered always before, the Rosenbergs answered again on that last Tuesday only hours away from their doom:

> "They will get nothing out of us, because we have nothing to confess."

The world will be long forgetting that last macabre touch of the sovereign government of the United States: the FBI men sitting in Sing Sing with their telephone lines open to the Attorney General and the President waiting for the word of submission and guilt that never came.

Because innocence and dignity were the possessions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

—THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

There are millions

ARMADA, MICH.

The dreadful news just came. Minutes are left for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They will never confess to a lie and open the flood gates of fascism to drown countless other Americans in martyred blood. They will die as heroes, very great heroes.

The GUARDIAN has been wonderful from the start. You have told the shocking truth, and millions have come to know that this has been a frameup to further the evil plans of the war-makers.

But the sheer arrogance of the rulers of present-day America sealed their ears and minds to the demands throughout the world for clemency. Their lynchers' insistence that the Rosenbergs die, reveals their guilty knowledge that a new trial would have exposed their vile scheme. No doubt the only prosecution "witness," Greenglass, was about to break down and admit his sister's innocence.

To the children, Michael and Robbie, I can only say that there are millions of people throughout the world who love and honor your parents. Don't feel alone, for you are not alone. And the truth to which your dear mother and father were sacrificed will triumph.

Helen Travis

Bitter harvest

BETHEL, VT.

I have squeezed out the enclosed contribution as a tribute to the Rosenbergs. I do believe that the "Godly" Eisenhower and his government will be long harvesting the bitter yield of this viciously cruel act, and the Rosenbergs will not have died for nothing.

Theis E. Aitken

The sacrifice

DES MOINES, IA.

With the execution of the Rosenbergs, the last pretense at liberty and justice went by the boards in America. It is obvious that they were destined to be sacrificed on the altar of the American witch-hunters, and whether they were innocent or guilty mattered not. These diabolic inquisitors were immune to the pleadings of the countless thousands, both great and small.

With his refusal to grant clemency, President Eisenhower belied all of his prattle about God and Christianity. He is only another hypocrite.

The Rosenbergs will forever stand as a monument to the ignorance and injustice of the American people. In the years to come, the American people will be able to look back upon the occasion with nothing better than humiliation.

M. L. Parris

How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON (U.P.) — Republican strategists are ready for the big test of their belief that the party's biggest asset right now are President Eisenhower's grin and folksy eloquence.

—Pittsburg (Calif.) Post-Dispatch, June 10.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: "A friend," Pittsburg, Calif. (Identification for prize, please?)

The God of War

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Like many thousands I sent letters to the President asking for clemency for the Rosenbergs. How can a man who has dedicated his life to war and murder know mercy?

Thomas Grabell

Alexander

DETROIT, MICH.

Wasn't it another Pope who noted that

No Rogue e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the Law.

D. X. Dawes

The precedent

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Attorney General Brownell and President General Eisenhower had good scriptural warrant for speeding up the execution of the Rosenbergs in order to keep holy the Sabbath Day. The Council of the Sanhedrin and Caiaphas, the High Priest, showed the same concern for Holy things in the way they handled the arrest and execution of Jesus of Nazareth.

Things were getting serious in Jerusalem. The city was filling up with the Passover crowds and the popular sentiment in favor of this subversive character was rising. So Caiaphas, the High Priest, acted with the admirable dispatch expected of frightened rulers when matters threaten to get out of hand.

Late Thursday evening a raid was staged in the garden of Gethsemane. A rump meeting of the Council of the Sanhedrin sat all night and heard the perjured testimony of stool pigeons. Bright and early Friday morning the prisoner was arraigned before Pilate. The clemency plea of the wife of the Roman governor was unavailing and by noon the itinerant teacher, later known as the Prince of Peace, was saying as they nailed him to his cross: "Father, forgive them." Shortly before sunset the soldiers came around to hurry his death and the death of the two crucified with him by breaking their legs. The bodies were fetched down in plenty of time to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath. The Passover was celebrated in appropriate calm.

Charles Stewart

Mourn not the dead

Mourn not the dead who in the cool earth lie,
Dust unto dust. The calm earth mothers all who die,
As all men must. Mourn not the captive comrades who must dwell,
Too strong to strive, within some ironbound coffin of a cell, buried alive —
But rather mourn the apathetic throng, the cowed and meek,
Who see earth languish, and its wrong, but dare not speak.

—Ralph Chaplin

The new alphabet

RENSSELAERVILLE, N. Y.

In the alphabet of our brutalitarian society under Truman-Eisenhower leadership, "B" is for Brownell the Butcher and "E" is for Eisenhower the Executioner.

Our commercial press gloats like a ghoul while the rest of the world shudders and abhors the U.S.

L. A. Eldridge Jr., M. D.

Nine long years

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One more disgraceful chapter was added to the record our war-hysterical government officials have been writing these past nine years with the killing of the Rosenbergs.

After the atom-bombing of Japanese civilians, the U.S. Government unleashed a war of extermination all over North Korea. To this prolonged "operation killer" official Washington now can join the electrocution of two American citizens, man and wife, for a crime of which, with exemplary sincerity and heroism, they maintained they were innocent.

"The wickedness of the few makes the calamity of the many," wrote Publius Syrus centuries ago. Good Americans would do well to ponder the meaning of those words.

A. Garcia Diaz

Liberal Ike

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Book burners we
Must never be
Except with text
We disagree.

Laurence Gellert

The Zenger tradition

LAKE BLUFF, ILL.

Cedric Belfrage is indeed playing the role of a modern John Peter Zenger. Would that he wins out as triumphantly! The GUARDIAN is putting up a magnificent fight for justice and common sense. How can so many people sit silently by and see our rulers don the mantle of Hitler?

H. B. Curtis

The McCarthy menace

CHELAN, WASH.

If Sen. Jos. McCarthy were tried by a group of his peers and charged with deliberate attempts to subvert the Constitution, I am fully convinced that the great majority of our people would give three lusty cheers.

I am also certain that they would like to see him confined for about six months in some solitary place where loudspeakers continuously repeated the passages of the Constitution and also the Declaration of Independence.

I strongly adhere to the principles of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God."

And by the grace of God, I declare that McCarthyism is a menace to this principle.

Helen Ittner

Cost of killing

MUSKEGON HTS., MICH.

Some time back reader Ellen V. Wallace asked for the "Cost of Killing." In *Peace, War and You,* by Jerome Davis, on p. 40:

"The monetary cost of mass murder has steadily increased. In Caesar's time it took only about 75c to kill one man but by the Napoleonic War, $3,000. Some years later when the American Civil War occurred it had risen to $5,000, in the 1st World War the cost rose perpendicularly to $21,000 per man killed and in the 2nd World War it cost $50,000. The direct cost to the U.S. of the first World War was 22 billion, which roughly equals all the money appropriated by the American Congress from its foundation to the start of World War I. The U.S. spent roughly 400 billion in World War II."

Orange T. Beckley

Long live the Jack Reeds

MONROVIA, CALIF.

I can't tell you how seriously I regret that my contribution can be no more than this at the present. But I have just emerged from a long siege in a TB sanatorium, and am perilously low on funds. Despite the handicap I could not sleep well if I failed to contribute even this mite to the maintenance of the GUARDIAN and the defense of its magnificent editor. Long live the freedom of the press.

Jack Reed

"Courage Is Contagious"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I saw a week ago that marvelous musical revue "Courage Is Contagious," presented by the GUARDIAN. I feel that Tiba Willner, the GUARDIAN Los Angeles representative, deserves heaps of praise. She has helped the paper financially, given us a good show and a good, healthy laugh. And courage was really contagious: we all got infected. And, I hope, there never will be an antibiotic to cure or prevent this infection.

Other cities, please copy! Don't let Hollywood (and Los Angeles) get away with all the glory. Let the show be shown in as many places as possible.

Jack Fox

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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"The press is a mill that grinds all that is put into its hopper. Fill the hopper with poisoned grain and it will grind it to meal, but there is death in the bread."—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

REPORT TO READERS

Let the people know

CHICAGO, ILL.

It's nip and tuck in the struggle between democracy and fascism. We will win it for democracy—only if we have the people with us, lots and lots of people. How to get them to see their power, to see that they themselves could stop a war, clean out corruption, build a better society?

The trouble is, they don't know the facts. That is the basic and most urgent next step. When the people know the truth they will do the rest.

And here, in our GUARDIAN, is an instrument at hand. What a job it is doing! We know it wakes people up, gives them the facts hard as hammer blows, yet clearly, entertainingly, with lots of laughter so you have a whale of a good time reading it. And by God, when you are through, you want to do something about it.

What are we waiting for? Maybe we haven't realized the situation, been distracted by a thousand details. But this is fundamental. The people must get the facts; this is our most essential long-term job. We must free its editors for their big job with the people. And get the GUARDIAN to more people in all sorts of ways. This is basic. We must do it now.

Dear GUARDIAN readers: we must change the Monthly Pledge figures. We must send bills—ones, fives and tens—showering on our paper.

Ellen Brandstetter

ELLEN BRANDSTETTER, one of the grandest people who ever graced the progressive movement of America, has stated the basic issue of our time: **The people don't know.**

This week, with the sadness and the anger that follow the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, we must ask ourselves two questions: Would the Rosenbergs be alive if the people DID know and were moved to action to prevent the madness at Sing Sing? Would the Rosenberg Case have churned the greatest protest of its kind the world has ever seen if the GUARDIAN had not taken up the case two years ago and pursued the fight?

We think the questions answer themselves. But we will not rest with the answers. The GUARDIAN intends to carry the fight further. We will not rest until we have impressed on the conscience of America the fact that the Rosenbergs died innocent in a ghastly design to panic our country into acceptance of the government's policy of brutal destruction.

THAT BRINGS US BACK to Ellen Brandstetter's basic fact. You have received a letter from Cedric Belfrage, written before his release from Ellis Island, asking for a summer dollar from the winter soldiers. If you have not replied, will you find the letter, read it and take action? Every dollar we get means life to the GUARDIAN and more facts for more people.

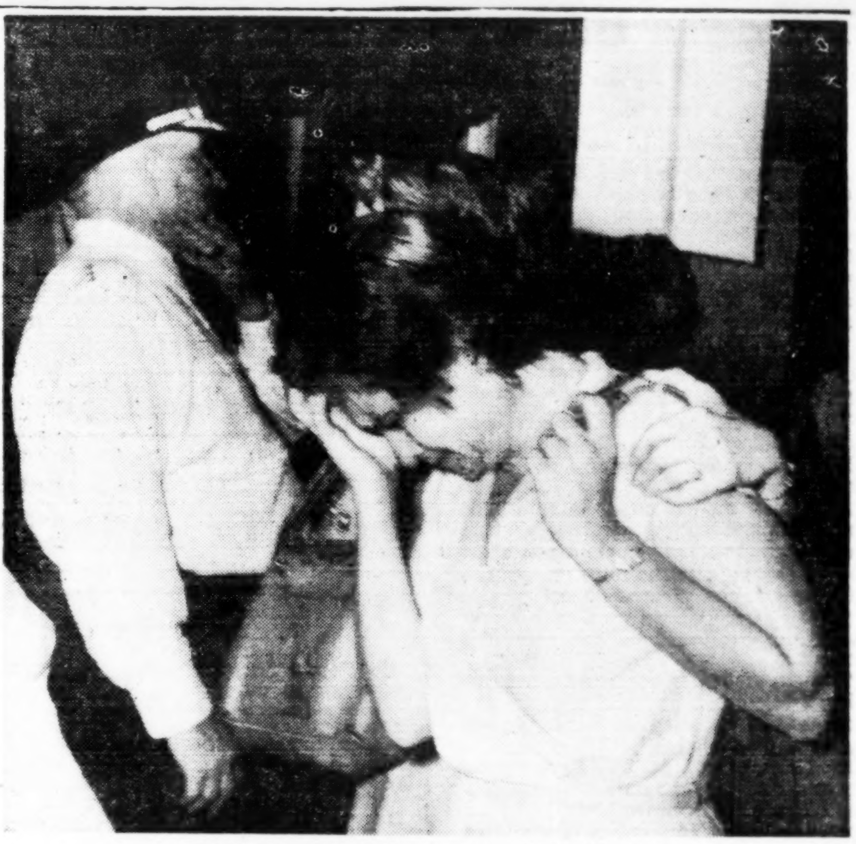
One thing more: In the upper left hand corner of this page is an old friend, the pledge form for the Buck-of-the-Month Club. It is making its last appearance this week before departing for the summer. To those of you who have sent in your pledge we say: "Thanks—it has worked wonders." To those of you who have been planning to do so, we say: will you do it now, before the pledge form takes off? We'd like to work a few more wonders.

THE EDITORS

THE WASHINGTON VIGIL

The capital never saw anything quite like it

By Ione Kramer



WASHINGTON, D.C., 8 P.M., JUNE 19, 1953

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE 950 marchers who kept the watch on the White House through the Rosenbergs' last hours sensed the greater significance of their vigil for two innocent people—the vigil for their nation's conscience.

The pickets were part of the thousands who during the week had flocked to the capital from near and far (including Florida, Georgia, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois) to form what the Washington chief of police called the largest and most orderly demonstration in the capital's history—and probably the saddest.

On Wednesday 14 flew in to join others from California; nearly 3,000 came in special trains from New York; a young couple on their way north on their wedding trip heard the news on the car radio at Boston, turned around and headed for Washington.

NOT ALONE: The pickets knew that they and the Rosenbergs were not alone as news of similar demonstrations all across the country and the world was relayed to them on the line. On Wednesday—sitting in summer clothes on the grass in Liberty Park after 11th-hour pleas to Congressmen, and looking like a sad, silent picnic—2,500 waited tensely but patiently through the long hot afternoon for word from the Supreme Court special session.

At 11:01 p.m. Thursday their applause filled the night about the White House; the 5,000 keeping the vigil soberly rejoiced that the first execution date had passed and the Rosenbergs still lived. Five hundred and fifty changed plans in order to remain in the capital over Thursday night—finding lodging where they could, a hundred sleeping in shifts on the floor at Rosenberg Comm. headquarters at Inspiration House—to carry the vigil continuously to the end.

SILENT MARCH: From 7:45 p.m. Friday, when the execution was scheduled to take place, they marched in complete silence two by two, Negro and white, in an impeccably orderly line before the broad green lawn and cool fountain of the sedate White House while an estimated 7,000 Washington residents gathered across the street to watch. Thoughts bhind the grim, set faces were not only with Ethel and Julius. An elderly woman commented:

> "I could weep for the Rosenbergs, but I can hardly speak my grief for those who have let this happen to our country and don't know what it means."

Aftermath

ON SUNDAY night, after the Rosenbergs had been buried, a speaker lectured on religion to a score of people on a Broadway corner in the '70's. Beside him was a chart written in Hebrew. He made no mention of the Rosenbergs. A cab stopped. The driver came up to the group and yelled at the lecturer and listeners: "Communists!"

One listener said: "Can't you see this is a religious meeting, not a communist meeting?" The cabbie pointed at the Hebrew letters on the chart and repeated: "Communists—all Jews are communists!"

Some of the crowd started after him but he drove off in his cab unscathed.

At 7:43 lawyer Emanuel Bloch appeared at the White House gates in one final attempt to plead for his clients before the President. He was not received. He had no appointment.

THE GHOULS: The line broke only once when a dozen newspaper photographers charged through trying to capture a picture of a young woman weeping. A friend threw a coat over her head and the line continued. The solemnity of the occasion and dignity of the capital was disturbed only by a noisy "counter-picket" line—never more than a dozen people—with obscene signs proclaiming their glee at the execution, permitted by the police at one end of the White House.

Five or six cars plastered with the latest lurid headlines were allowed to circle the block continuously, while their occupants shouted provocative remarks at the clemency marchers and observed that the Jewish sabbath was a fitting day for the execution. Three of them were young servicemen in uniform, who didn't sem to realize how the official hysteria of which the Rosenberg case is symbolic was being used to put and keep them in uniform.

Among the curious who were permitted to walk past the line to stare or drop remarks, there were no Negro people; very few of the city's large Negro population were in the crowd across the street.

PRAY FOR COURAGE: At 8:05, when the execution was thought to be taking place, there were no sobs, only a few trickling tears, and many grimly set jaws and bitten lips. The honeymoon couple linked arms, and other husbands and wives on the line drew closer together, wordlessly. From across the street came a ripple of ghoulish applause and raucous tooting of automobile horns. The majority of watchers retained respectful silence. The marchers set their lips more firmly, straightened their shoulders, carried their heads and "mercy" signs higher.

When word came that Ethel and Julius were dead, pickets lowered their signs, turned silently to face the White House as Mrs. Helen Sobell read a statement from the Committee:

> Two lives have been taken, a mother and father.
>
> Our nation's security is not greater for it; it is less because we have given up that charity of spirit and greatness of heart without which no nation is strong.
>
> Our nation's conscience is not more serene; it lies in shadow because we permitted the hue and cry of passion to drown out the inner voice of mercy.
>
> Our nation's light does not shine brighter; it is dimmer because we turned out backs on the counsel of all the great religious and lay leaders of our time.
>
> Our nation must pray tonight that remorse gives courage to those who know the truth, so that they will not keep silence. . . . .

'This was an act of cold, deliberate murder'

Emanuel H. Bloch, chief counsel for the Rosenbergs, made these remarks at the funeral service of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

"I AM HERE not to speak as the attorney for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, although that has been the greatest honor ever paid to any man. I feel that I am here as a brother who has lost a brother and a sister—as all of us here have lost a brother and sister.

"Yet this is not a time to grieve. They would not have wanted it that way. They were hurt—but they didn't cry; tortured—but they didn't yield. Their courage has been an inspiration to tens of millions to stand up boldly and fight oppression and tyranny.

"The American people should know, as the rest of the world knows, that America today, by virtue of the execution of the Rosenbergs, is living under the heel of a military dictatorship garbed in civilian attire. The men who are running our country have no hearts. They have stones for hearts. They have the souls of murderers. This was an act of cold, deliberate murder. When I requested in Washington that these executions be put off so that they would not occur on the Jewish Sabbath, the request was granted by a barbarian who instead of postponing the hour of their death, pushed it up so they could be done away with before the beginning of the Sabbath.

EMANUEL H. BLOCH
The anger was strong

"IT IS BEING SAID that the Rosenbergs had full process of law. Whose law? Let the pen prostitutes and the Voice of America know that the Rosenbergs were not executed according to law. A Supreme Court Justice [Justice Black—see p. 5] said the court had not even read the record in this case. Was that 'due process of law'?

"The last paragraph of Justice Jackson's opinion suggested to the President that it was neither advisable nor wise to kill these people. The three dissenting Justices were outraged. You have the entire Supreme Court saying to the President of the United States: 'Do not commit this barbaric act.'

"I place the murder of the Rosenbergs at the door of President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover. This was not the American tradition, not American justice and not American fair play.

"THESE sweet, tender, cultured people have been killed and they have brought their bodies to us. And now again they are with their friends—with the people. They are of the people. Tens of millions are in sorrow—but they are in anger. We must be angry today to resist Nazism—for this is the face of Nazism. They have killed two of us, but the people are still here. Let us never forget that it was Nazism that killed the Rosenbergs—for if we do, we will cringe, we will be on our knees and be afraid. Insanity, irrationality, barbarism and murder seem to be part of the feeling of those who rule us.

"Ethel and Julius had faith in you that they would not be let down. They knew full well that if they died, the people would understand why they died—and that their death would provide an opportunity to fight the terror that made them its victims."

(Bloch then read Ethel Rosenberg's poem "If We Die," published in the GUARDIAN last week.)

IRWIN EDELMAN
Fyke Farmer and Daniel Marshall represented him in the "next friend" action which moved Justice Douglas to grant a stay.

THE POISONED PEN AND THE ROSENBERGS

The rotten role of the U.S. press

By James Aronson

Last evening Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair. . . . They were tried in open court by a jury of their peers and were found guilty. . . . Meanwhile every facility for petitioning for clemency was granted to the supporters of the defendants. They had access to the press. . . .

N.Y. **Herald Tribune** editorial
Saturday, June 20, 1953

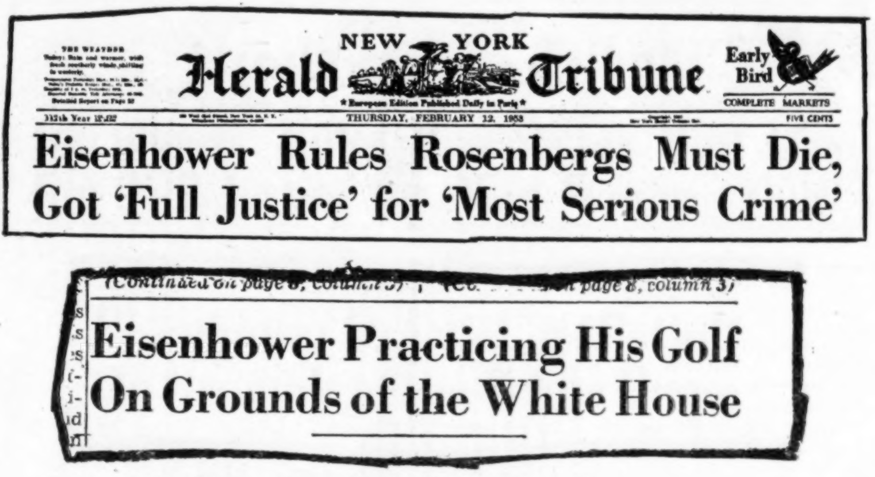
ACCESS to the press. . . . The editor of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** refused to see a delegation from the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case; the paper had adequate information on the case, he said. The **Herald Tribune**, along with every other newspaper in New York, and most papers throughout the country, consistently spiked committee releases reporting that distinguished persons all over the world had urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

The N.Y. **Times** repeatedly refused advertising on the case. Its radio station WQXR rejected a commitee request for paid spots. The **Times'** censors turned down a delegation of prominent persons asking that ads be accepted. The editor of its editorial page, Charles Merz, refused to see a committee delegation.

VULTURES IN PRINT: There was access to the press—in the form of poisoned serials in the N.Y. **Post** and the N.Y. **World-Telegram** when there seemed to be a hope for clemency or judicial review. There were mood pieces by Max Lerner, a N.Y. **Post** columnist who has a penchant for urging clemency for victims of injustice within 24 hours after their death.

This was Lerner on June 19, 1952, reporting on a Rosenberg rally in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn:

> I looked around the room, and what I saw were vultures and victims. The vultures were the half-pint commissars, exploiting the emotions of unsuspecting Jews. The victims were the group of lower middle class men and women, huddled together in anxiety.
>
> The climax of the evening was a speech by a little orthodox Rabbi, Meyer Sharff, of Williamsburg. He wore a skull cap and a long black coat with a prayer shawl under it and a magnificent growth of beard. He was the prize catch of the cynical men who ran the meeting. . . . Why did he let himself be used by them?



NEW YORK Herald Tribune

Early Bird

COMPLETE MARKETS

★ European Edition Published Daily in Paris ★

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1953

FIVE CENTS

Eisenhower Rules Rosenbergs Must Die, Got 'Full Justice' for 'Most Serious Crime'

Eisenhower Practicing His Golf On Grounds of the White House

Same paper, same day, same page.

ONE YEAR LATER: This was Max Lerner on June 21, 1953, after he had come away from Sing Sing, where he covered the execution:

> If the death sentence had been imposed in the hope that the Rosenbergs might shrink from leaving both their two little sons orphaned . . . the hope was cheated. . . . There are men in the Kremlin who must be breathing more freely today because Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be forever silent. . . .
>
> Nor can there be any question that the Rosenbergs were involved in atomic espionage. The real question is whether the death sentence was either necessary or wise. . . .

While the press abroad—far left to far right—was clamoring for news and pictures and background, the American press for two years was silent, except for the sporadic snarls when an appeal was coming due. Leonard Lyons larded his gossip column with inspired warnings to Rosenberg sympathizers that their contributions were being noted and their activities observed. His latest contribution implied that the Rosenberg Death House letters had been ghosted (the GUARDIAN has photostats of the originals on Sing Sing stationery). Walter Winchell in his column and on the air spewed hatred that would have brought a letter of commendation from Heinrich Himmler.

SOME TOOK ADS: The record of the New York press was rotten. To their credit many newspapers outside New York accepted Rosenberg advertising. Among them were the Newark **News,** Cleveland **Plain Dealer,** St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** and Washington **Star.** There were occasional editorials that presented the issues fairly, pleaded at least for judicial and executive objectivity.

The starkest example of suppression of news was the almost total blackout of the news that Pope Pius XII had made three intercessions in the case. Even the Catholic press proscribed the Pope.

When the GUARDIAN broke the news of new evidence (the missing table) its editors sent copies of the story, photostats and glossy prints to every paper in New York and to the wire services. There was thundering silence. Abroad the news was Page One.

A CHANGE COMES: In the last week before the execution, there was a change. News flooded into the papers. There were press vigils in Washington and at Sing Sing. Top-name reporters were assigned. The story almost crowded the shocking news from Korea out of the headlines.

There was a change in the quality of the coverage too. Aside from the obscenities that appeared under the bylines of the bought-and-paid-for columnists and pundits, the stories of the working press were full and fair and sober. They reflected the urgency of the events being covered. There was no horseplay in Washington, at the rallies, at the prison. At a mass meeting in Union Square a week before the execution, reporters wept as Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg pleaded for the life of her children.

The gory details of the execution were spilled in tons of ink. But between the lines there was a note of indecision, as though the reporters who wrote the stories, and the editors who handled them, were beginning to have qualms about the toboggan slide to fascism they themselves were riding.

THE MONSTER: The press of America stands marked with the brand that marks anyone who had a hand in killing the Rosenbergs. The press whipped up the atom-spy hysteria when there was disinterest. It created a Frankenstein monster of fear and hatred which it is perpetuating in its blind coverage of McCarthy and the other witch-hunting committees. The press has it in its power to pen the monster. It chooses not to do so.

There is access to the press . . . if you accede to the debased morality of the keepers of the press.

Justice Hugo Black's opinion: Did the Rosenbergs get a fair trial?

Following are excerpts from the opinion of Justice Hugo Black, supporting Justice Douglas' stay of execution, and setting forth with indisputable clarity the fact that the Rosenbergs did not receive anything like a full judicial review. (Emphasis added.)

IT IS ARGUED that the court is not asked to "act with unseemly haste to avoid postponement of a scheduled execution."

I do not agree. I do not believe that Government counsel or this court has had time or an adequate opportunity to investigate and decide the very serious question raised in asking this court to vacate the stay granted by Mr. Justice Douglas.

The oral arguments have been wholly unsatisfactory due entirely to the lack of time for preparation by counsel for the Government and counsel for the defendants. Certainly the time has been too short for me to give this question the study it deserves.

The following are some of the reasons why I think the court should not at this time upset the considered rulings of Mr. Justice Douglas:

First, the Government argues that this court has power to set aside the stay granted by Mr. Justice Douglas. I think this is doubtful. **I have found no statute or rule of court which permits the full court to set aside a mere temporary stay entered by a justice in obedience to his statutory obligations. . . . So far as I can tell, the court's action here is unprecedented.**

But if the court could find statutory or constitutional power to vacate this stay there are many reasons why I believe that power should not be exercised. Concededly, an individual justice has power to grant stays where substantial questions are raised. He not merely has power to do so, there is a serious obligation upon him to grant a stay where new substantial questions are presented. Where the life or death of citizens is involved, that obligation is all the heavier.

SURELY the court is not here establishing a precedent which will require it to call extra sessions during vacation every time a Federal or state official asks it to hasten the electrocution of defendants without affording this court adequate time or opportunity for exploration and study of serious legal questions. . . .

Second, the stay of Mr. Justice Douglas in this case was based on his studied conclusion that there were substantial grounds to believe the death sentences of these two people were imposed by the district judge in violation of law. I agree with Mr. Justice Douglas. . . .

The indictment here charged a conspiracy alleged to have continued from June 6, 1944, to June 16, 1950. Thus the alleged conspiracy covered one period of conduct where the 1917 act plainly governed and another period of conduct after the Atomic Energy Act went into effect. The Rosenbergs were charged with conspiracy to disclose atomic secrets as well as other kinds of secrets. Under these circumstances it would more nearly fit into the general canons of construction to hold that a district court could impose sentence only under the less harsh statute.

I AM NOT unaware of the Government's argument that this court can and should give full effect to both these statutes, one of which deprives the district court of unconditional power to impose the death sentence and one which grants such unconditional power. This would be a strange argument in any case, but is still stranger in a case which involves matters of life and death.

JUSTICE BLACK
There was not time. . . .

The stay of Mr. Justice Douglas is based entirely on his desire to have this matter passed upon in due course and after proper proceeding brought in district court and followed through to this court. That is as it should be. Judicial haste is peculiarly out of place where the death penalty has been imposed for conduct, part of which took place at a time when the Congress appears to have barred the imposition of that death penalty by district judges acting without a jury's recommendation. And it seems manifest to me that this court has not had time or opportunity for sufficient study to give an informed decision on this important question.

Third, I am aware also of the argument that Mr. Justice Douglas should not have considered and that we should not now consider the point here involved because the Rosenbergs' lawyer had not originally raised it on appeal. I cannot believe, however, that if the sentence of a citizen to death is plainly illegal this court would allow that citizen to be executed on the ground that his lawyers had "waived" plain error. An illegal execution is no less illegal because a technical ground of "waiver" is assigned to justify it. . . .

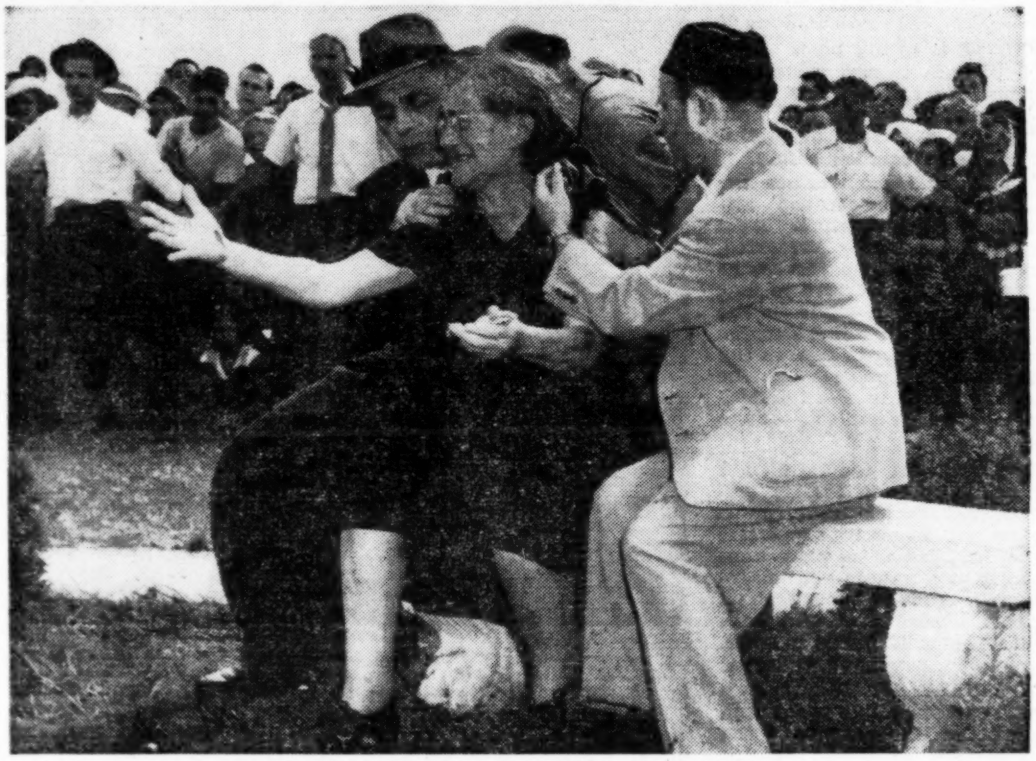
I MAY ADD that I voted to grant certiorari originally in this case. That petition for certiorari challenged the fairness of the trial. It also challenged the right of the Government to try these defendants except under the limited rules prescribed by the Constitution defining the offense of treason. These I then believed to be important questions. In motion for rehearing the arguments to the unfairness of the trial were expanded and I again voted for review. . . .

I should add my regret that the rush and pressure of this case has deprived me of any opportunity to do more than hastily sketch my view of these important questions raised. I have not beeen allowed to give the time and study to this opinion that is generally devoted to decision and opinions in important cases.

It is not amiss to point out that this court has never reviewed this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without an affirmance of the trial by the highest court of the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out. I would still grant certiorari and let this court approve or disapprove the fairness of these trials. . . .

THERE WAS GRIEF AND LOVE AND ANGER

The death and the funeral of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg



"GOD HELP ME. I HAD TWO CHILDREN."
Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg comforted by Emanuel Bloch (l.) and doctor at cemetery.

By Elmer Bendiner

THE CLOCK on the Consolidated Edison Tower at Union Square measured out the last hour of the Rosenbergs' lives for close to 10,000 New Yorkers jammed shoulder to shoulder, almost filling the long block on 17th St. that runs from Broadway west to Fifth Avenue.

Around the world people were in motion and looking for an answering stir in the Rosenbergs' home town. They wanted a sign that Americans knew the day's grim meaning.

There had been no time for rallying calls in the press or leaflets to be handed out at subways. One New Yorker telephoned another as radio bulletins told the story throughout the afternoon. The square itself was fenced off with a maze of wooden barriers. The speaker's stand stood empty and guarded by police. The Park Dept. which controls the square had issued no permit.

THE CLOCK: Crowds, gathering at six o'clock, were guided to 17th St. and Broadway. A sound truck's loud speakers sent the speeches echoing among the office buildings as in a canyon. None read a text. The words, moods, in many cases the tears, of each speaker precisely reflected the feelings of the crowd. The people watched the clock's hands wheel slowly toward eight.

News photographers hung from the fire escapes. An occasional heckler shouted but he seemed lost among the 10,000 angry, tense people who until the last second seemed unwilling to believe that the Rosenbergs would be killed before the meeting's end.

Leon Straus of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers told them: "You are the conscience of America."

Rev. Harold Williamson, Negro minister of the Church of the Rugged Cross, said:

"If I'd refuse to fight for the Rosenbergs I'd consider myself less than a minister, less than a man. . . . An Ethel and Julius will rise up for every hair in their heads."

A PLEDGE: William Patterson, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, called "not for a prayer but a pledge" to save America. The crowd pledged with raised hands. Author Howard Fast pinned the guilt on President Eisenhower and called him "bloodthirsty." Albert Kahn, author of **The Great Conspiracy,** said:

"It is those who want to kill them who are traitors to America."

At 7:45 David Alman, chairman of the Rosenberg Committee, took the microphone. His words came quickly but heavily charged with tragedy and anger. From the crowd, now running from wall to wall in the street, came sobs. A police lieutenant told a committee member: "Tell him he better not talk like that."

At two minutes before eight the meeting's chairman, Norma Aronson, announced: "The Rosenbergs are in the execution chamber."

GO DOWN, MOSES: Ten thousand people were crying, some quietly against the wall with head in hands, some with heads up unashamedly weeping. The chairman called for two minutes of silence but the crying filled the canyon. At 8 p.m. a singer of the People's Artists began: "In memory of the Rosenbergs. . . ."

At that point a wail filled the street as if 10,000 people were in agony. It was piercing but dissolved in singing as People's Artists led in "Go Down, Moses . . . Let my people go."

Before the song was over police ordered the sound truck's power turned off, allowed it on again only for the words: "Meeting adjourned." Police pressed the crowd slowly toward Fifth Av. They came out of 17th St. in a tremendous stream, unwilling to disband. In most cases grief had already given way to anger. Slowly, solemnly, many thousands of the crowd marched down Fifth Av. to 14th St., then eastward, picking up the cry: "Long live the Rosenbergs."

WITHOUT FEAR: Police tried breaking the crowd up along the route but the procession reformed and solemnly paraded, without authority but without fear of the police, to Knickerbocker Village where the Rosenbergs lived, then through the East Side to Rutgers Square Park. It was hard to estimate the number as thousands filed through the streets. In the park they sang again: "Go Down, Moses" and the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

The funeral

The mood of mingled grief, love and anger was seen again at Brooklyn's I. J. Morris Funeral Home on Saturday night. At 9 p.m. the Rosenbergs, brought out of prison, lay in state. A file of people began a procession around their bier that went unbroken throughout the night and on to 1:30 p.m. on Sunday.

An honor guard of eight stood four-hour tours of duty through the night. They wore skull caps and held U.S. flags. Most people came into the chapel quietly, straightening their clothes to be presentable as at a solemn peak in their lives.

A few came out of curiosity or in hate, some after a gay evening in town. Even these seemed changed in the Rosenbergs' presence. Their laughter died. There were no desecrations.

FLATBUSH SIEGE: By 2 p.m. on Sunday a military maneuver had been effected in East Flatbush, a neighborhood of small brick homes and stores. Two hundred uniformed police took over the area. Plainclothesmen swarmed. Authorities declared that subversive squads would take down licence numbers of all cars in the neighborhood. But by car, bus and train, crowds poured in. The police sectored them off, isolated groups on a dozen different corners, guarded crossings carefully to complete one stratagem: keep the crowd from getting together.

It was the year's hottest day (94 degrees); the corners were shadeless but 12,000 people stood for hours in the sun. Many of them were old men and women; they would not leave. Rooftops, porches, fire escapes were jammed. People waited quietly, without impatience, clearly not to see but to share their feelings.

JULIUS' FAMILY: Only 340 were admitted to the little chapel where the services were held. Julius' family were there, except for his children. Ethel's family were not.

Inside, the caskets lay amid flags and flowers, before a small stage. The speakers on Sunday's aftermath echoed the grief of Friday night but, in most cases, the wail of pain had stiffened into considered, angry determination. Joseph Brainin, chairman of the Rosenberg Committee, said:

"I never knew the Rosenbergs and most of us here never knew them. But we were brothers because they wanted the same kind of world for their children that all of us want for ours. They were hostages for all of us. . . . I want to say something to the family in this hour of their great grief. They are the custodians of the Rosenberg name which will live for many centuries. They must be proud. Never before have so many tens of millions in so many lands fought for human lives."

IDEALS REMAIN: Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, professor emeritus at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, who along with other clergymen had made a final personal appeal to the President for clemency, told the angry mourners:

"Juridically we did not succeed. Spiritually we did succeed. We succeeded in remaining true to our ideals of mercy and justice.

"Our work is not finished. First we must ascertain and publish the truth. Second, we must bind up the wounds. Third, we must eschew hatred and forsake rancor. We who won the spiritual victory as we fought for their lives, must not succumb to spiritual defeat, but must forbear to assail those who took their lives. Let us not vituperate those who pronounced the verdict. Let us at least give them credit for this much—they did what they thought was right."

The audience, who had called the verdict "murder," were unwilling to be charitable to those who upheld it or enforced it. Murmurs ran around the chapel and some cried: "No, no." Others shushed their friends to a decorous quiet. (The press referred to this as hissing.) The rabbi continued:

"We must not permit any ground for accusations that we who fought for clemency are remiss in our American citizenship. We have nothing to gain by America's injury. We gain when America gains and we lose when America loses."

GOD OF MERCY: The speech that stirred hearts most came from passionate, fighting attorney Emanuel Bloch who,

(Continued on Page 6)

NEW YORK: 17TH STREET OFF UNION SQUARE
The cops roped off the square—grief had no permit

DISPATCH FROM PARIS

France never saw such a torrent of protest

GUARDIAN special correspondent

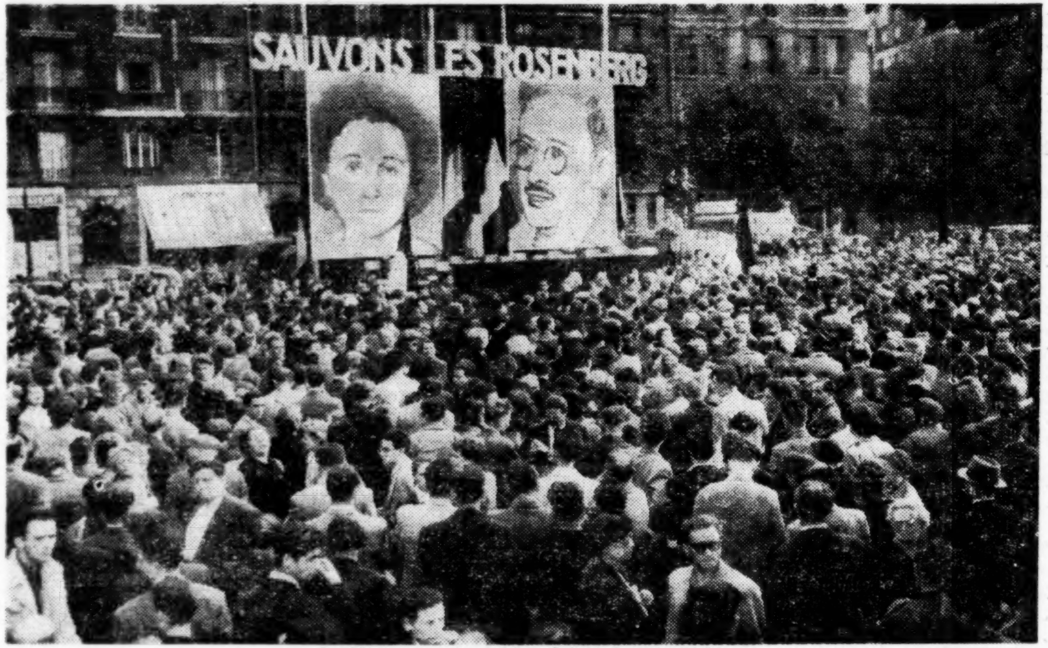
PARIS, June 20

GRIEF is giving place to indignation and mounting anger. For the last few weeks particularly, France had been swept by a torrent of protest hardly ever equaled before.

To many French minds the Rosenberg case recalled another trial in which legal murder was loudly advocated, against reason and justice, as a propitiatory sacrifice to fear and hatred. But while in the battle for and against Dreyfus France was torn in two, in the appeal for the lives of the Rosenbergs, France—so divided on many other subjects—found itself united.

U. S. NEEDS "CLEMENCY": The shock, therefore, is tremendous. Grave concern is expressed by U. S. supporters who had hoped against hope Washington would be clear-sighted enough to spare its friends abroad what they consider the most tragic blunder.

In its June 8 issue NATIONAL GUARDIAN published a small cartoon which has proved prophetic: Uncle Sam carrying a placard with the word "Clemency." This sums up the present situation as few words could. For now it is the rulers of the mighty U. S.—despite their arrogance which led them to flout world opinion clamoring for justice—who will henceforward, in the long run, have to beg the peoples of the world for clemency.



PARIS: THE PLACE DE LA NATION
The shock was great—the anger is mounting

In a front-page editorial tonight Hubert Beuve-Méry, editor of the influential conservative daily **Le Monde,** wrote:

"Seldom will a criminal trial have shown with more continuity, solemnity and cruelty the precariousness of human judgment. Neither the best-founded doubts as to the scope of guilt; nor the obvious disproportion of the sentence; nor the firmness of a judge heedful of the scruples in his mind and the revolt in his conscience; nor the amazing courage of the condemned [couple], submitted until the last minute to appalling blackmail; nor the protest of millions of men and women, the supplications of the highest moral and religious authorities on this side of the Atlantic, have been able to change the course of destiny.

. . . Yet the convictions, across the ocean, of a young unknown couple had suddenly restored [to the French people] the only unanimity they had known for a long, long time. . . . The execution of the Rosenbergs may prove a severe defeat for the whole Atlantic coalition."

THE FORTRESS: This is why clemency will be hard to obtain for those who, in the face of a whole world, ordered the execution. Last night, as the tragic news was sweeping through Paris, indignant crowds began to mill along the boulevards, down the Rue Royale to Place de la Concorde, at a corner of which, facing the Champs Elysées, the U. S. Embassy proudly stands.

Its white building looked like a besieged fortress. Surrounded by a huge array of steel-helmeted police—armed with tommy-guns and tear-gas grenades, supplied with radio cars and every device for up-to-date street warfare, spreading their dark, menacing cordon far along the Champs Elysées—this embassy of a nation which claims to lead the Western world as its most powerful country was certainly "not a sign of strength but of weakness," as **Le Monde** said tonight of the execution itself.

THE PRICE OF PROTEST: Despite the impressive police array, crowds walked sadly up the wide avenue; many, swept by indignation, shouted their protest. Angry crowds were swept back from the Concorde toward the Rue Royale and the Madeleine Church. There the police swung their clubs, some fired shots, at least one young man fell, a 19-year-old worker named Victor Cocchi. Seriously wounded—one shot in the groin, one in the arm—he was carried to hospital. . . .

Thus even before Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair, young, generous French blood had been shed in Paris—shed by police protecting the U. S. Embassy from popular protest.

Funeral

(Continued from Page 5)

after three years of heroic battle and a week of agony, was still on his feet and fighting (see p. 3).

The service closed with the cantor intoning the ritual **El Molay Rachamum** (God Full of Mercy). The sobbing of Julius Rosenberg's mother became uncontrollable when Julius' name was spoken in the bitter chant for the dead.

Outside, police on horseback guarded the exit through which the Rosenbergs were to be carried. Many of the watchers broke into the middle of the street; thousands of others joined and began a solemn procession winding around the block on which the chapel stood. They were 10 abreast in some ranks and they encircled the square block. They walked slowly.

When the hearse left the chapel, the mourners on foot fell in behind. The grief was solemn but not passive. The crowd remembered the part the press played in the Rosenbergs' death and brushed aside news photographers who aimed their cameras at Mrs. Rosenberg, nearly overcome.

7,000 CARS: A line of cars formed behind the hearse and picked up mourners on the way to the Wellwood cemetery. Drivers switched on their lights or fastened white cloths to aerials like banners. Highway police estimated the cars in the cortege at 7,000—but since police gave none of the usual road courtesies to this funeral (they were stopped at lights, the file was broken into) the funeral cars mingled with Sunday excursionists and ruled out all accurate estimates. Three

buses were chartered for mourners.

The funeral procession with hearses and several hundred cars entered Wellwood without incident; but Suffolk County police at North Babylon, three miles from the cemetery, blocked the road, began shunting cars off to either side away from the cemetery. Hundreds of cars, fully loaded with mourners, were turned away. Some, though, wheeled around again and blocked the highway, demanding the right to enter the cemetery.

DRONE OF PRESS: One county policeman tried to arrest a man but his friends snatched him out of the policeman's hand. The cop whipped out his blackjack and injured several in the crowd before state troopers rushed up, saw the highway jammed for miles, gave the necessary directions into the cemetery through an alternate gate. Hundreds thus came late.

Around the single grave in which both Ethel and Julius were to lie, mourners locked hands to keep back the crowds and the occasional hate-filled heckler who straggled in. Overhead a **Daily News** helicopter, taking aerial shots, kept up a drone that drowned out the brief speeches at the grave. Those who spoke their farewells were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who recited the 23rd Psalm; the Rev. Glendin Partridge of Montreal, Canada; David and Emily Alman of the Rosenberg Defense Committee; poet Yuri Suhl, and Helen Sobell, wife of Morton Sobell, now serving 30 years in Alcatraz, another victim of the frame-up that killed the Rosenbergs.

MOTHER'S GRIEF: Mrs. Rosenberg, in black shawl, racked by grief, tried to hurl herself into the grave crying:

"God help me. I had two children. To take a mother and father away from two babies is a sin. Sad is the mother they do something like this to."

After the ceremony thousands of mourners walked quietly past the flower-strewn grave still circled by men with arms locked against any further violence to the Rosenbergs. They stayed that way until the last car left and the gates were closing.

For Michael and Robert

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A few hours ago Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were put to death. Our country is poorer because they died. But this does not close the Rosenberg case.

There are two children, Michael and Robert, aged 10 and 5 respectively, who need warmth and love and protection.

There is Morton Sobell, who faces thirty years imprisonment.

There is the name of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, which needs vindication.

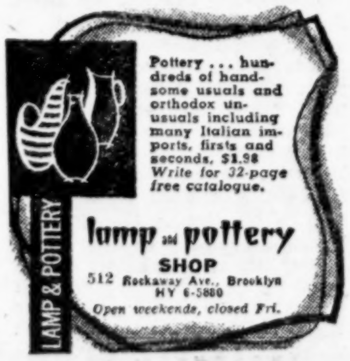
We do not know at this moment what sort of committee or fund will undertake this work. As of now, the obligation is ours—and yours.

We tried our best to help the Rosenberg children by returning their parents to them. We must do our best to insure their future.

We ask that, out of the same deep spirit that moved you to contribute to clemency for Ethel and Julius, you contribute now to Michael and Robert.

David Alman, Executive Secy.
Natl. Rosenberg Committee

Contributions may be made payable to Joseph Brainin, 1050 Sixth Av., New York 18, N. Y. Ed.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California

1,500 in final Los Angeles vigil

By Gene Richards

GUARDIAN staff correspondent

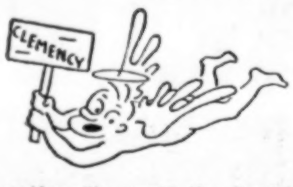
LOS ANGELES

NEWS THAT the Rosenbergs had been killed came to Los Angeles as 1,500 maintained a vigil inside the Embassy Auditorium and a few "counter-pickets" stood outside behind a row of policemen shouting: "Fry the Jews!"

During the final week there had been a prayer watch at the Los Angeles Federal Bldg., a round-the-clock vigil at the San Francisco Post Office Bldg., an open air rally in Oakland's City Hall Plaza. Telephone chain campaigns for protests and funds to carry on were on a scale never equaled here.

TRUTH MARCHES ON: Advertisements calling for clemency appeared in the San Francisco **Chronicle**, Palo Alto **Times** and **L'Italia**, San Rafael **Independent Journal**, and a number of L. A. papers. Paid spot announcements urging listeners to telephone the White House for clemency went on the air over KTIM, San Rafael; KEEN, San Jose; KLX, Oakland; KRE, Berkeley. Nine such announcements were broadcast over KLX, owned by the Oakland **Tribune**, before the station's management clamped down.

The last-week efforts in Los Angeles had been sparked in a rally at Park Manor Ballroom Monday where Paul Robeson urged 900 volunteers to keep fighting. It was clear which section of Americans Eisenhower and Brownell had catered to with their hasty execution "to avoid the Jewish Sabbath," when the **Herald-Express** featured a picture of youthful "counter-pickets" smilingly showing such signs as "French Fry the Rosenbergs," "Fry Them Medium Rare," "Burn the Rats."



It was also doubly plain that the truth the Rosenbergs defended with their lives, like the soul of Old John Brown, goes triumphantly marching on.

> **"Ritual murder"**
>
> . . . Possibly a sociologist would be better able to define the present situation in which the disturbed community rids itself of its worries and fears by a ritual murder. More than ever the Rosenbergs seem to us like the expiatory victims of the cold war. . . .
>
> Henri Pierre, Washington correspondent of **Le Monde** (Paris), June 17.

FREE MORTON SOBELL!

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are dead.

But Morton Sobell, **convicted in the same trial whose evidence the Supreme Court admits it has never read**—Morton Sobell is alive, condemned to jail for 30 years, a life sentence.

Alive? He is on Alcatraz, that fogged-in rock in San Francisco Bay, a Devil's Island so bad that the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons urges that it be closed down.

But he keeps Morton Sobell there.

Why? For exactly the same reason they kept a telephone line open to the execution chamber in Sing Sing until the deed was done: they hoped that the Rosenbergs would "cooperate."

Today those whom Manny Bloch called the "animals" in Washington know that there is only one thing that will lay the ghosts of the Rosenbergs — a "confession" from Morton Sobell.

Does anyone think today that the "animals" who killed the innocent parents of two young children will refrain from physical torture to justify their deed of murder?

The Rosenbergs were in the world limelight and were visited constantly. Under those circumstances the "animals" could no more use physical torture than Hitler could use it against Dimitroff in the Reichstag Fire Trial 20 years ago.

But Morton Sobell is at a place where **normal** routine has the announced purpose of frightening hardened criminals out of committing deeds that might get them sent there. If ordinary prisons enforce punishments so brutal as to provoke the desperate rebellions that shook the nation last year, what must be the horrors of Alcatraz?

The "animals" need a confession from Sobell **now.**

What are they doing to Morton Sobell?

Decent America — and two weeks ago in Washington and New York we thrilled to learn how much there is of decent America—**must free Sobell!**

That is the first payment on our debt to the Rosenbergs. And to Morton Sobell's wife, the mother of two children, who put aside the fight for her own loved one to work for the lives of Ethel and Julie.

To free Morton Sobell means to expose the frame-up and vindicate the name of the Rosenbergs as Sacco and Vanzetti were vindicated. **It means to compel the Supreme Court to read the record of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial.**

Morton Sobell is the Tom Mooney of our day.

Let us go to the people and remind them that the Supreme Court would have let Mooney die—but the people saved him and in time proved him innocent.

The fight for Tom Mooney helped bring a New Deal to America.

The fight for Morton Sobell can help bring peace to America—for his trial was entirely a product of the cold war.

For his sake and for ours, let us not wait 23 years as Tom Mooney had to wait.

First of all—GET SOBELL OFF ALCATRAZ!

DEMAND THAT THE SUPREME COURT READ THE RECORD!

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DISPATCH FROM LONDON

The Rosenberg Case united long-time foes

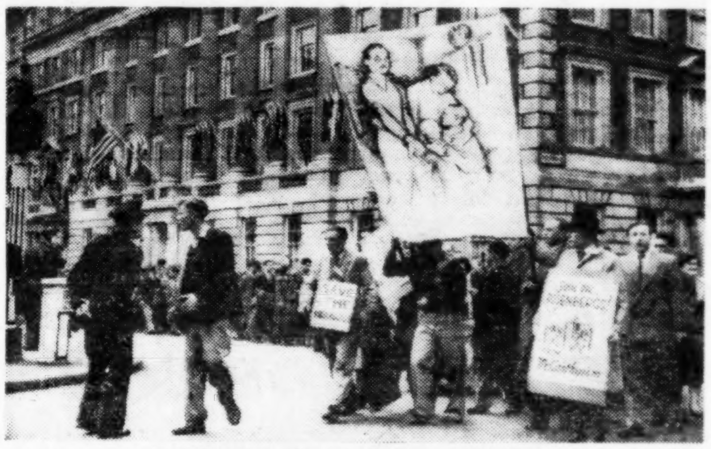
GUARDIAN special correspondents

LONDON, June 20

ON the night of June 19-20 the ban on processions near the House of Commons was defied by a far bigger demonstration than the one against the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. As Big Ben began to toll 1 a.m., a strong clear voice rang out: "The Rosenbergs are about to die. We will stand in two minutes' silence."

The crowd, which had been kept moving by police standing in serried ranks across the entrance to Downing St., stood stock still facing the police and remained so as they moved menacingly forward. Out of the stillness rose a voice in prayer from a man kneeling in the street. Then a lone man's voice started "Joe Hill"; at the line "I never died, said he" there were sounds of weeping but the volume of singing filled Whitehall strong and resonant. Silence fell again; the police pushed forward, but the crowd did not stir until it heard: "We will now go forward. Tomorrow in Hyde Park at 3 p.m."

MIDNIGHT MARCH: The hundreds of people moved off in a slow, measured march along Whitehall, up the Strand and to the tiny Committee office backing on Covent Garden where the fruit market was beginning its day. People crammed into the office or waited below in the dark street for confirmation of the executions.



LONDON'S GROSVENOR SQUARE
It was like this all through Europe

When police came later to demand why the organizers had not announced this route and march, the organizers were able to say in all good faith it was nothing to do with them. The demonstration was spontaneous.

LAST EFFORTS: Demonstrations in the last days were some of the largest seen since Spanish Civil War days. On the bleak night of June 17-18, after mass meetings in Hyde Park, people had gone to the House of Commons and stayed there in a long queue till the House rose at midnight, to ask more MP's to intercede. On the last night, Committee members went to Churchill's country place, Chartwell, at 11 p.m. but were not allowed in. A typed refusal to intercede was sent out to them in reply to their penciled note urging "the only man who can save this young couple" to telephone Eisenhower. Other groups wired the Queen urging her to ask Eisenhower for a reprieve. Earlier on the night of the 19th, 3,000 demonstrators, stopped by police on a march from Hyde Park toward 10 Downing St., sat down in Regent St. chanting: "Save the Rosenbergs!"

A national deputation to the U.S. Embassy on Wednesday got this reply from Third Secy. McClelland: "We are not interested in the moral issue. We want to uncover the communist conspiracy, and they can save their skins if they squeal."

ANY OTHER FACTOR?
President Eisenhower has decided against holding a news conference this week. There were indications that the delicacy of the Korean situation was a factor.
—**AP** story from Washington, June 23.

DOES U.S. KNOW? GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer, returning on the night of the executions from a visit to several European countries, writes:

"I wonder above all whether honest Americans who are proud of their country realize what their President did to their name when he let the Rosenbergs die.

"In Britain the clemency campaign had united individuals and groups who for years locked horns on every issue. Trade unions whose right-wing leaders had long and bitterly fought any criticism of U.S. policies added their voices to the plea for these two lives. Liberals, churchmen, Tory politicians joined the campaign.*"

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* Some of those sending last-minute protests: Transport & Gen. Workers Union Exec.; Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen Natl. Exec.; trades councils in dozens of cities; branches of the Amal. Engineering Union; Fire Brigades Union; Elec. Trades Union Exec.; Assn. of Supervisory Staffs, Executives & Technicians; Chief Rabbi Dr. Israel Brodie of the British Commonwealth; Rt. Rev. Mgr. William O'Grady; Indian students' organization in London.

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Where to Go

POTPOURRI—dance concert and social dancing with **Ibo Lee Le** Afro-Cuban dance ensemble and **Five Crowns** recording artists. Creative Arts Theater, Bamboo Room, Bluebird Cafe, 605 8th Av. (nr. 40th St.) Sat., June 27, 10:30 p.m. $1.50 at door, $1.25 adv. reservations. 220 E. 14th St., GR 3-0762.

AMERICAN LYRIC THEATRE, 4 short pieces: **California,** choral work on the "olden days," by Gordon Jenkins; **Hopalong Freud** by Ira Wallach; premieres of **Where There's a Will,** 1-act comedy on inheritance by Lexford Richards; **Brandy Is My True Love's Name,** folk opera by Atra Baer & Martin Kalmanoff. Opened June 17, perfs. nightly at 8:30 except Monday, thru June 28. 320 W. 57th St., CO 5-8876.

THEATRE DE LYS. — Sheridan's Restoration comedy **School for Scandal,** directed by Therese Hayden, June 23-28. Eves. except Mon. 8:30 p.m. Sun. mat. WA 4-8782. **The Little Clay Cart,** translation of a Hindu fantasy, with Sono Osato, June 30-July 5.

Movie Suggestions

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Miners of the Don** (Russ.) & **Buffalo Bill in Tomahawk Territory,** July 2-3.

APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. **Devil Makes Three** & **Trio,** June 29-July 3.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Moulin Rouge,** continuing.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. **Miss Robin Hood** (Br. with Margaret Rutherford), from June 26.

BEVERLY, 3rd Av. at 50th. **Place in the Sun** & **Pepe Le Moko,** thru June 29; **Brave Bulls** & **Dead of Night,** June 30-July 4.

BRYANT, 42d St. W. of 6th Av. **Elizabeth Is Queen,** from June 29.

COLONY, 1519 2d Av. **Moulin Rouge,** June 24-37; **Phantom of the Opera** & **Next Time We Love,** June 28-29.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. **Moulin Rouge,** June 28-July 4.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **Last Holiday** (Br. with Guinness) & **Castle in the Air,** June 27-30.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Beware of Pity** & **Great Mr. Handel,** June 26-July 2.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55. **Keepers of the Night** (Ger. Nachtwache), cont.

GRANDE, 86th nr. Lexington. **Gentlemen's Agreement** & **Snake Pit,** June 27-29.

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. **Moulin Rouge,** from June 24.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. **Prisoner of Zenda** & **The Happy Time,** June 29-30; **Importance of Being Earnest,** July 1-4.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Importance of Being Earnest** & **Crash of Silence,** thru July 1; **Promoter** & **I Believe in You,** thru July 8.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Magnificent Obsession** & **The Lady Vanishes,** June 29-30; **Phantom of the Opera** & **Next Time We Love,** July 1-4.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th. **Hundred Hour Hunt** (Br.), continuing.

PLAZA, 57th & Madison. **Moulin Rouge,** June 24-July 3.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. **Call Me Madam,** June 24-30.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. **High Noon** & **African Queen,** June 26-29.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **Pepe Le Moko** & **Secrets of Mayerling,** June 26-28; **Major Barbara** & **Pygmalion,** June 29-30. **SUMMER FILM FESTIVAL** starts July 1. **The Last Laugh** & **Cabinet of Dr. Caligari** (both Ger. with Emil Jannings), July 1-2; Magnani in **Woman Trouble** (It.) & **Maedchen in Uniform** (Ger.), July 3.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Winslow Boy** & **The Suspect** (both Br.), thru June 27; **Whirlpool** & **Panic in the Street,** June 28-29; **Anna** & **Royal Wedding,** June 30-July 1; **Importance of Being Earnest** & **Crash of Silence,** July 2-3.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Grand Concourse. **Naughty Martine** & **Sextet** (both Fr.), Jne 27-29.

CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. **Promoter** & **I Believe in You,** June 30-July 1.

Midtown

SADKO—(Russ.) based on Rimsky-Korsakoff opera, in color. Stanley, 7th Av. & 42d St.

TONIGHT AT 8:30—(Br.) composite of 3 Noel Coward plays. Baronet, 3d Av. at 59th St.

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

BELLISSIMA—with Anna Magnani, the Italian movie industry satirizes itself. Trans-Lux, 60th St. & Madison Av.

JULIUS CAESAR — Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av., bet. 8-9 Sts. **Heart of Paris** (Fr. with Raimu, Michele Morgan), June 26-28, 8:30 p.m.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Bette Davis in Lillian Hellman's **The Little Foxes** (1941), June 22-28.

Films of Ernst Lubitsch series. **Gypsy Blood** (Carmen, 1918) & **Passion** (Mme. Du Barry, 1919), both with Pola Negri, June 29-July 5.

Events for Children

JUNE 27-JULY 5

Films

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 170 Central Park W. at 77th St. TRAVEL FILM, GERMANY, Sat., June 27, 2 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. WATER CYCLE, Tues., June 30, 4:30 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. EUROPEAN HOLIDAY, film highlights the musical, architectural and cultural aspects of 16 European countries. Sat., June 27, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. RIKKI THE BABY MONKEY; ADVENTURES OF BUNNY RABBIT; ADVENTURING PUPS. Wed., July 1, 3:30 p.m.

BROADWAY THEATER, B'way & 49th St. UNDER LITTLE BIG TOP; LAND OF UGLY DUCKLING; A PECK OF TROUBLE, Sat. thru Tues., June 27-30. CANADIAN MOUNTIES; SO YOU WANT TO LEARN TO DANCE; MIGHTY HUNTERS; BOBBY SHANPZ, Wed., thru Fri., July 1-3. FORWARD MARCH HARE; THAR SHE BLOWS; YO HO WONDER VALLEY, Sat. thru Tues., July 4-7.

Miscellaneous

MARIONETTE PERFORMANCES — Dept. of Parks. Free.
Brooklyn: SETH LOW PLAYGROUND, Bay P'kway & Av. P, Mon., June 29, 3:30 p.m. RED HOOK PLAYGROUND, Stadium, Bay & Columbia Sts., Tues., June 30, 3:30 p.m. NEPTUNE PLAYGROUND, W. 28th St. & Neptune Av., Wed., July 1, 2:30 p.m. MARINE PARK, Fillmore Av. & Stuart St., Thurs., July 2, 2:30 p. m. GERRITTSEN PLAYGROUND, Gerrittsen Av. & Av. X, Fri., July 3, 2:30 p.m.

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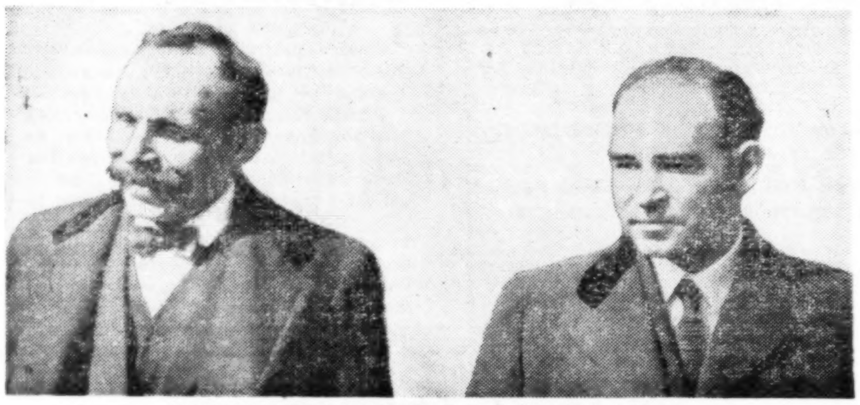
THE STRATEGY OF TERROR

Why were the Rosenbergs selected?

By Elmer Bendiner



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI and NICOLA SACCO
The test of human greatness

ON June 25, 1950, the Korean War began.

On July 21, 1950, FBI men raided the apartment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in New York.

The events were joined by more than their coincidental timing in a turbulent summer. From the start the Rosenbergs were tried on a world stage and, though the grand design was not apparent at all points, it is clear looking backward now that there was more in Judge Kaufman's courtroom than the fight for two lives. There was a global policy at work: a strategy of terror.

TWO FRONTS: On March 31, 1951, U.S. troops were at the 38th Parallel. India's Nehru had opened informal talks with Peking. On April 2, British Foreign Secy. Herbert Morrison said: "This is the psychological moment" to end the war. On April 3 Gen. Ridgway led tanks and infantry regiments of two U.S. divisions across the parallel. The offensive was on.

On April 5, 1951, Judge Irving R. Kaufman, blaming the Rosenbergs for the dead in Korea, sentenced them to the electric chair.

After that, though the tragedy and heroism of the Rosenberg family wrung many hearts, the case never ceased to be political. Its ups and downs kept time with history.

AN EARLIER WAR: It was not the first time that criminal courts in the U.S. had figured as a cog in statesmanship. In 1916, when the U.S. was on the brink of another war, there was another case seemingly designed to ready the nation for blood, break the resistance to war. In those days labor was at the core of the resistance. The victims to be offered up were labor leaders Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. A suitcase bomb had exploded at a San Francisco Preparedness Day parade killing 10, injuring 40. Billings was sentenced to life imprisonment, Mooney to death. Mooney proved he was at least a mile away from the bombing scene at the time.

The U.S. needed allies, and world opinion, mobilized in demonstrations at embassies throughout the world, weighed heavily against the terror-and-shock effect Mooney's death might have on reluctant labor at home.

President Wilson appointed a commission (which included Felix Frankfurter) and on the basis of its report twice staved off Mooney's execution, then commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. After that the fight for Mooney grew until it won the allegiance of the nation's leading newspapers and legislators, and "Free Tom Mooney" was a slogan for virtually every union at a time when labor was growing in numbers and power. In 1939 California elected Gov. Olson on a pledge to pardon Mooney. Mooney came out with the tide of a flowering New Deal and the fight against world fascism.

WARNING TO DISSENTERS: In 1920 there was another occasion for the strategy of terror. The U.S. was moving swiftly to secure its place in the world, newly won in war. At home big business had opened a corresponding offensive against labor; the witch-hunters of the Palmer raids were riding. The times seemed to require an execution to shake the nation's spirit.

The victims chosen were two anarchists, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, and Nicola Sacco, a shoemaker. Pretext for the frame-up was a hold-up. As in the Rosenberg case, it seemed by design that the victims should be of a minority, politically and by their ancestry; that they should be dissenters who might serve as a warning to all dissent at home and abroad.

WORLD PROTEST: Like the Rosenbergs, the case plumbed the depths of its victims and revealed the two as examples of such moving heroism that it rocked the world in unintended ways.

For seven years the case went through the courts. On July 31, 1927, 11 days before the scheduled execution, 10,000 marched on New York's City Hall. (On June 14, 1953, some 13,000 ringed the White House.) Ten thousand more demonstrated on Boston Common. Cigar workers in Florida, miners in Pennsylvania, barbers in New York struck or threatened to strike. (That was a key difference; U.S. labor for the most part stood silently by throughout the long battle for the Rosenbergs.)

On Aug. 5, a week before the execution, there was a general strike in Paris and other strikes in Berlin, London, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Stockholm, Munich, Athens, Winnipeg.

THE KICKBACK: The tempo mounted in the last week, with 50,000 demonstrating in New York. When the execution was postponed to Aug. 23, 20,000 went on strike in Chicago and police fired on demonstrators. Cairo, Panama, Brussels, Manila joined the movement. Police attacked a crowd of 50,000 in Boston on the same day that Swiss police killed one and wounded 25 other demonstrators in Geneva. Throughout the world there were 60,000,000 demonstrators in action the day before the execution. Afterward 150,000 in Paris fought police at barricades before the U.S. Embassy. In Boston 250,000 marched through pouring rain at the funeral.

The terror kicked back; the world handed in its verdict on the government and the individuals who shared responsibility for the victims' death: guilty. The U.S. had used terror and had failed to stun either its own people or the world to silence.

MASTER'S STRONG HAND: When in the first flush of the Korean War the U.S. resolved again upon terror, it chose the Rosenbergs.

The U.S. in two world wars had come to master the capitalist half of the world. What then was the need for terror? Labor at home was organized, but with a good percentage of its leaders effectively captured by governmental policy, it needed little terrorizing. An unorganized peace movement needed it more, perhaps. The allies overseas, stirring uneasily amid their junior partnerships; the colonies, restless under new ownership; a world driven unwillingly into the Korean War and eager to make peace—here the evidence of a strong hand seemed to be needed. The British had been pointedly warned in editorials by leading newspapers that their softness toward dissenters was a dangerous fault.

WORLD STIRRED AGAIN: The leading anti-communist nation, which had shown itself unafraid to use the atom-bomb against the Japanese and jellied gasoline against Koreans, was now preparing to put two of its own American dissenters to death.

Yet the terror stirred the world rather than numbed it. Again the condemnation of humanity was brought upon the U.S. From almost every capital came protests in the thousands. The Pope and archbishops, statesmen, poets, artists, scientists, generals, legislators and above all trade unionists pleaded, demonstrated, marched, shouted for justice and mercy.

ONE MAN'S CHOICE: In the week set for the execution, the U.S. seemed to be yielding to the world's demand for peace and preparing to sign a truce in Korea.

No one could know what went on in the secret session of the U.S. Supreme Court on Saturday, June 13, when they considered the Rosenbergs' final appeal for a stay of execution. But when they reconvened on Thursday and Friday in special session, the justices pronounced the Rosenbergs' doom in lawyers' terms which seemed shockingly irrelevant. Atty. Gen. Brownell, pressing eagerly for their death, seemed at last to abandon legal disguises and expose a political strategy.

The question hanging over all Washington officialdom during the last suspenseful week was this: to appease the people of the world or bludgeon them. In the end the President enunciated the policy of the bludgeon and inflicted two more casualties of the war.

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CALENDAR

Los Angeles

LEST WE FORGET—Vets Abraham Lincoln Brigade invite you to commemorate 17th anniversary. No U.S. aid to Franco. Fight Justice Dept. attack on Vets. No War Bases in Spain. Hear Rube Borough and others. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m.

Everett, Seattle, Tacoma

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Calling H. S. students

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I am 17 and a junior in high school. I would like to say that I agree with "College Bound." The classroom of today is definitely not the place to voice one's political convictions. The best we can do is to remain neutral. At times we are called upon to recite. We hear the same words and phrases over and over again until we can repeat them by heart. But it always sounds like the same bad recording.

There are many students of the same opinion in my school, but to be revealed would mean a cut in our marks. It is for this reason that I ask you not to print my name. But we all dread graduation from high school. We know that that would make us eligible for the draft. Both boys and girls alike want no part of a Wall Street war to keep stock prices from falling.

There must be many more high school students who feel the same way. Why not, then, form an organization I appeal to all high schoolers to make their feelings known to this paper. **H. P.**

Get the clippers

BALTIMORE, MD.

Reading the news accounts of Cedric Belfrage's harassment, the fine letter by Mrs. C. B. S. in your last issue, I was struck with the speculation of what America would be like without the GUARDIAN. The picture being too horrible to contemplate, I went for the clippers and prepared my tardy pledge. If our paper goes out, so will a good part of the country.

George Bluestone

BY ONE WHO FOUGHT BACK

The Guardian and the Rosenbergs

By Emanuel H. Bloch

Chief Rosenberg Defense Counsel

TODAY the Rosenberg Story is known in every corner of the world. But I remember very well those grim days of March, 1951, following the trial and sentence, when every avenue of information and publicity suddenly closed.

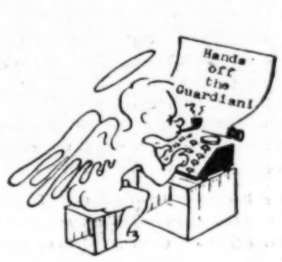
With the slamming of the door of the Death House on the Rosenbergs, a conspiracy of silence settled on the press. Our great newspapers which, during the trial, had seized eagerly upon every propaganda release of the prosecution, closed their pages to all news about the victims. From the Government's point of view and from the point of view of its ally, the press, the Rosenbergs were as good as dead. The next news item would be the announcement of their execution.

To us of the defense, this was a desperate situation indeed. The Rosenbergs and their family had no money—no money at all—to pay even the out-of-pocket expenses of appeal. If the press was closed to us, what chance did we have for raising through public subscription the thousands of dollars needed?

This deadly conspiracy to forget the Rosenbergs was shattered by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

I SHALL never forget my talks with Cedric Belfrage, Jim Aronson and John McManus. With that beautiful clarity of mind which makes the GUARDIAN irreplaceable, they saw the meaning of this attack upon an obscure engineer and his wife The Rosenberg Case, which had died in all the great papers, came alive in the GUARDIAN. To the GUARDIAN is due the credit of first showing to the world what the world now recognizes as a barefaced, political frame-up.

The clique which, against the conscience of mankind, executed the Rosenbergs, are equally bent on silencing the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the role it played in their defense. That is the meaning of the attack upon the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage. The thousands of readers of the GUARDIAN who have made possible the Rosenberg defense must recognize this linkage of the two cases.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Behind the 'uprising' in East Germany

By Ursula Wassermann
GUARDIAN special reporter

HAMBURG, W. GERMANY

"IT may be sheer coincidence," Herr X told me, "that the mass release of allegedly anti-Communist N. Korean prisoners occurred within 24 hours of the so-called spontaneous revolt in E. Berlin. But there seems to be method to this madness. Such coincidences are becoming too frequent for comfort."

A reputable businessman, Herr X. has been close to those W. German circles best represented by former Chancellor Wirth and Pastor Niemoeller who have worked, against great odds, for all-German unity. He asked his name be withheld, since doubts expressed as to the genuineness of the "Eastern revolt" might stamp him as an outlaw in the Bonn Republic and almost certainly ruin his business. The fact that no bourgeois paper in W. Germany—not even an "independent" one—dared voice any doubt as to the official Bonn version of events in E. Berlin indicated how correctly Herr X. judged the situation.

RESTRICTIONS LIFTED: Nobody in E. Germany has denied that legitimate grievances exist there; it is with just these grievances that the government has been dealing recently. For the past few weeks it had been successively lifting travel, small business and rationing restrictions, normalizing the situation more than at any time since the Berlin blockade. Smoothly moving E.-W. zonal traffic through June 16-17 indicated how little the E. German and Soviet authorities expected any kind of serious political trouble, and a new decree had promised an increase in the number of interzonal passes for civilians which had been severely restricted: 80 such passes were issued at Erfurt on June 17 and 18.

These relaxations of restrictions would hardly have gone into effect if a "spontaneous" uprising had been in the air: spontaneity has a way of making itself felt for a few days, if not a few weeks, ahead of time. People do not as a rule revolt out of a vacuum. Yet this is what was said to have happened in Berlin when, for weeks past, all the portents were pointing to a definite lessening of tensions and an improvement in living conditions.

NEW HORST WESSEL: Flags are on half-mast now, and Bonn and its rubber-stamp press are determinedly elevating Willi Goettling—sentenced to death and executed by a court-martial—to the position of national hero occupied by an earlier decade's ill-famed Horst Wessel. The Communist **Volkszeitung** was confiscated for saying that the Berlin

> . . . action was planned and organized by the Kaiser ministry in Bonn and the intelligence centers of American munition millionaires.
>
> (Kaiser, W. German "Minister for All-German Affairs," said on Oct. 25, 1952: "There will be no real Europe until the German bloc is restored. Let me remind you that, besides Germany, this bloc comprises Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar, Alsace and Lorraine.")

NOT SO RETICENT: The foreign press agencies have not been as reticent as the remainder of the W. German press. **Agence France Presse** wired from Paris that diplomatic circles there did not regard the E. Berlin demonstrations as "spontaneous." **AP** stated on the 17th that the incidents

> . . . will at this critical time constitute a grave blow against the recent Russian peace offensive in Europe. . . . Until Wednesday (June 17), the general impression prevailed that recent Soviet policy to bring about a lessening of tension in Austria, E. Germany and elsewhere was keeping the Western Powers on their toes. W. Germany's pro-American Chancellor had thus been placed in a disagreeable position.

There was the danger, **AP** continued, that Adenauer's "program of W. German integration" might be ruined.

PEACE WRECKERS: Adenauer, however, was no more willing than Syngman Rhee to see his aggressive plans ruined. In the Far East as in Europe, the puppets, with the silent consent of their masters, are continuing the policy of wrecking all hopes for peace. As Herr X. said, it seems too Machiavellian to have been purely incidental that peace should have been stabbed in the back, both in Korea and in Berlin, within 24 hours.

The W. German Communist Party declared on 17 June:

> While responsible statesmen are no longer able to repress the peoples' desire for peace and peaceful coexistence, Adenauer alone undertakes to sabotage any kind of agreement. . . . He is desperately anxious to commit the Western Powers to include all of Germany into the Western military alliance. . . . Adenauer's policy, to the detriment of the German nation, aims at wrecking any attempt at a Four-Power meeting. . . .

The London **Times**, in its June 19 leading editorial entitled "Sabotage," described Rhee's rebellion as "open and proclaimed." Adenauer's rebellion is so far neither open nor proclaimed; nevertheless, it remains sabotage to world peace.

●

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Morton Sobell

MORTON SOBELL, convicted under the same indictment with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg but never accused of dealing with atomic energy information, is serving a 30-year sentence on Alcatraz Island, harshest federal prison in the country. For as long as hope lasted, the Rosenberg Case necessarily took precedence. Now a fight must be waged in his behalf. Last week his attorney, Howard N. Meyer, issued this statement:

"The opinion of Justice Frankfurter states that 'the opportunity for adequate exercise of the judicial judgment was wanting' in the Rosenberg Case.

"The opportunity for judicial judgment still exists in the case of Morton Sobell, and every possible step to win his freedom will be taken. I wrote to Sobell yesterday, as follows:

> The courage and quiet dignity with which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died were a moving lesson for even those who wanted them to die. To those of us who felt that they had been unjustly convicted and sentenced, it must be an inspiration not only to vindicate their memory, but to win your freedom."

President General Eisenhower

The Louisville "Courier-Journal" recently published a startling picture of the military mind at work in the White House written by Robert L. Riggs, Washington correspondent; the article has also been reprinted by the St. Louis "Post-Dispatch." Excerpts follow:

HE [Eisenhower] probably does about as little reading as any man who ever has occupied the White House. . . . Eisenhower, though he must be interested in the views or actions of the men who preceded him, does not learn of them through biography. Even military history or biography bores him. . . .

The greatest relaxation Eisenhower finds is in the company of that amazing man, George Allen. . . . The fascination he holds for the President is incredible. . . . [Allen was Harry Truman's palace clown and court jester]. It is not unusual for Allen to spend as many as three evenings a week at the White House playing bridge, telling anecdotes and producing belly laughs. . . . On a recent Sunday, the White House bridge game started at 3, lasted until nearly midnight. . . .

. . . The President seldom reads newspapers. He follows the habit he acquired while in high military command of receiving a digest of news from a member of his staff. . . .

The digest idea is carried even further. The staff-officer method of solving problems, which generals acquire, continues in the White House. . . . There is a bit of folklore that Eisenhower wants the problem and suggested solution to be confined to one sheet of paper. Nor, says that same bit of folklore, does he want alternative solutions presented. . . .

They tell a story about a Pentagon officer who virtually ruined his Army career by not only devoting three pages to a discussion of a certain problem, but also dishing up three different ways to meet the issue, and inviting Eisenhower to choose. . . .

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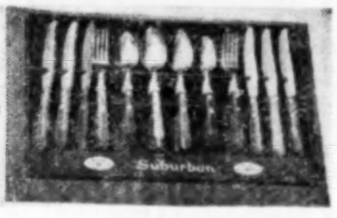

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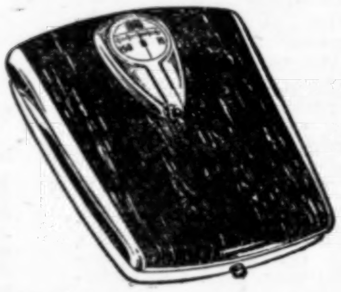

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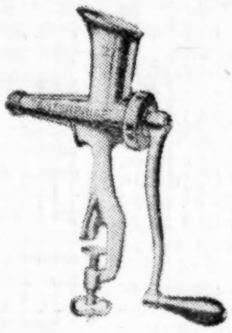

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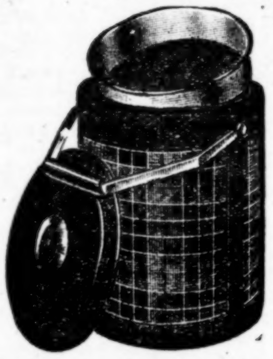

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HomeAid
ICE CREAM

HOME-AID ELECTRIC ICE CREAM FREEZER

Modern freezer makes delicious home made ice cream in 30 minutes with minimum of fuss and bother. Prepare mix in Home-Aid tray, put unit in freezer, run cord under refrigerator door and plug into nearest outlet. Makes 1½ quarts good for 9-12 servings. Instruction and recipe booklet included. AC only. Shipping wgt. 7 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$19.95	$14.95

POLORON WOODLAND JUGS.
1 gal. jug with fold-away faucet. Fibreglass insulating disc keeps contents hot or cold longer. Unbreakable. Lightweight. Flex-rock lining cleans easily as glass. Shipping wgt 5 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$5.89	$4.74

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

Name ....

Address ....

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

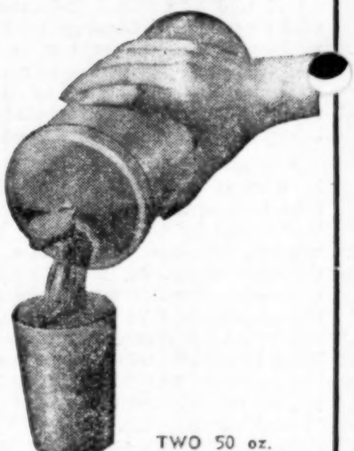
Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE 17 Murray Street, New York 7

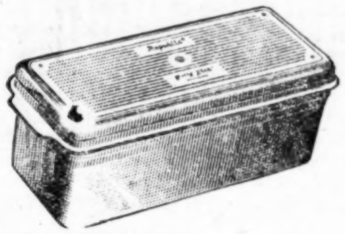
JUNE GIFT SPECIALS

18 Pc. Plastic Food Storage Set

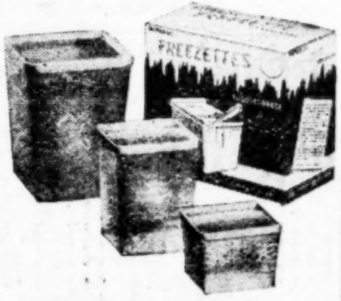
3 MIXING BOWLS.
5", 7", 10" diameters. Can be used for salads, punch, snacks and as mixing bowl for electric mixer. Also for food preservation in the freezer or refrigerator.



TWO 50 oz. DECANTERS
Ideal as container or mixer for frozen juices, cold drinks. Pour spout makes serving easy. Perma-Lid cover hermatically seals against contamination of flavor or contents. Also used for storage of juices, soups, meats, poultry, fruits.



1 FOOD CRISPER.
Will keep vegetables fresh and crisp for days. No drying out, no wilting, no deterioration. Cover provides tight seal fit, cannot be dislodged to expose foods.



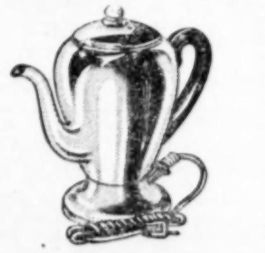
9 FREEZETTE CONTAINERS.
3—40 oz., 3—20 oz., 3—12 oz. Ideal for food storage. Can be used again and again. Designed for stacking to economize on storage space. Just a gentle pressure at bottom and food will come out whole without pre-melting.

3 PC. CANNISTER SET.
1½ qt., 2 qt., 3 qt. sizes. Used for freezing fowl, storing left-over meats, vegetables, fruits, etc. Also used for soup or ice cream. Perma-Lid covers hermatically seal cannisters.

100% Polyethylene

Attractive, practical, space saving. Can be used in freezers, refrigerators, lockers to conserve food solids or liquids. Economizes storage space, keeps food fresh. Polyethylene will not crack, break or chip. Each item has 100 uses in the home. -18 pc. set consists of 2—50 oz. decanters; 1—3 pc. cannister set (1½, 2 & 3 qts.); 1 food crisper; 1 set of mixing bowls (5", 7", 10" diameter); 3—40 oz. Freezettes, 3—20 oz. Freezettes, 2—12 oz. Freezettes. Comes in yellow, red or frost white. Shipping wgt. 8 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$12.95	$8.95



MIRRO-MATIC ELECTRIC PERCOLATOR
Completely automatic. Makes 4 to 8 cups. Keeps drinking-hot for hours. Stops automatically when coffee is done. Walnut colored plastic handle. Shipping wgt. 6 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$12.95	$9.70

PARCEL POST RATES

When ordering please determine postage from chart below and add to item cost. Shipping weights are noted with each item. Distances in chart are determined from New York City.

Weight in Pounds.	ZONES							
	Local	1-2 Up to 150 Miles	3 150 to 300 Miles	4 300 to 600 Miles	5 600 to 1000 Miles	6 1000 to 1400 Miles	7 1400 to 1800 Miles	8 Over 1800 Miles
1	$0.15	$0.17	$0.17	$0.19	$0.21	$0.23	$0.25	$0.27
2	.17	.20	.21	.24	.28	.33	.37	.41
3	.18	.22	.24	.29	.35	.42	.48	.55
4	.19	.25	.28	.34	.42	.51	.60	.69
5	.20	.27	.31	.38	.48	.60	.71	.83
6	.22	.29	.35	.43	.55	.70	.83	.97
7	.23	.32	.38	.48	.62	.79	.94	1.11
8	.24	.34	.42	.53	.69	.88	1.06	1.25
9	.25	.37	.45	.57	.75	.97	1.17	1.39
10	.27	.39	.49	.62	.82	1.07	1.29	1.53
11	.28	.41	.52	.67	.89	1.16	1.40	1.67
12	.29	.44	.56	.72	.96	1.25	1.52	1.81
13	.30	.46	.59	.76	1.02	1.34	1.63	1.95
14	.32	.49	.63	.81	1.09	1.44	1.75	2.09
15	.33	.51	.66	.86	1.16	1.53	1.86	2.23
16	.34	.53	.70	.91	1.23	1.62	1.98	2.37
17	.35	.56	.73	.95	1.29	1.71	2.09	2.51
18	.37	.58	.77	1.00	1.36	1.81	2.21	2.65
19	.38	.61	.80	1.05	1.43	1.90	2.32	2.79
20	.39	.63	.84	1.10	1.50	1.99	2.44	2.93